1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

173 [69] 539

This friendship between Tukabahchee and Coweta, the leading "Red towns" of the Upper and Lower Creeks, is woven into many stories which derive their importance from that fact. Alindja, the informant already mentioned, gave me another version, which runs thus:

"Anciently the Tukabahchee were at odds with all of their neighbors and were continually fighting but were uniformly successful. The Coweta heard of them, and, themselves being powerful, wanted to meet them in order to measure their strength. After a long time they heard that they were in their neighborhood and they sent some messengers to speak with them. When the messengers arrived they asked whether they had any chiefs. 'Yes,' they said, 'we have a few.' 'Where are they?' Then two small, insignificant looking persons were pointed out to them sitting with their heads bowed down. Then the visitors addressed the chiefs saying 'We hear that you have a very powerful medicine which enables you to conquer everybody, therefore we have come to learn about it. Have you any warriors?' 'Yes,' said they, 'we have a few.' 'Let us see them.' 'We must whoop four times in order to call them up,' they said. 'All right,' answered the Coweta. Then they sent a messenger who returned presently with something wrapped up in a white deerskin. They unrolled this and produced a short stick of miko hoyanĭdja. Holding this they whooped once and the earth trembled and it thundered and lightened. After they had whooped the second time, the Coweta said 'That will do. You need not whoop any more.' But the Tukabahchee answered that they must go through to the fourth now that they had begun and they did so. Then the Coweta said, 'Let us become friends and exchange medicines.' They did this and have been firm friends ever since. The Tukabahchee medicine was, as we have seen, the miko hoyanĭdja; the Coweta medicine was the kapapaska (spicewood)." [675]

[622.]

Mr. Grayson, through whom, as interpreter, the above story was obtained, told the following incident in illustration of the friendship between these two towns. Although in his later years he lived among the Eufaula Indians, he himself actually belonged to the Coweta town. He was once clerk at an election for head chief of the Creek Nation and took exception to certain of the returns. For this a member of the election committee, the chances of whose candidate would have been injured by the exclusion of these, wanted him sent out. The chief of the committee, however, who happened to be a Tukabahchee, answered that this man (i. e., Mr. Grayson) was his friend from ancient times and for that reason he could not do it. Immediately everything quieted down and there was no further trouble.

[675] Note that the Coweta medicine, as here given, differs from that in Cook's version of the legend.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

had its own set of titles which were given to new aspirants after the death of the former holders. If at any time the titles belonging to a clan were entirely exhausted a name could be borrowed from the clan of the aspirant's father, but after the death of the holder it would revert to the clan from which it had been taken. 551 554 614

These titles usually contained two words, of which the second was commonly hadjo, fiksiko, yahola, imala, tástánâgi, or miko. The last three belonged properly to certain classes of functionaries to be described elsewhere, but in some towns they seem to have become hereditary in the clans; at least this is definitely affirmed for the term tástánâgi. It has frequently been reported that these titles were bestowed in a certain order. Thus one of my own informants said that a man would probably be given first a name containing hadjo, next one with imala, and finally one with tástánâgi. Another gave the order as hadjo, tástánâgi, and miko. Most of this is explained, however, by the fact that the names imala, tástánâgi, and miko were applied to officials. Nevertheless there seems to have been some tendency to use a name containing hadjo first and one with yahola later on. These two, together with fiksiko, are called "common names," which here mean merely that they did not carry official positions with them. Hadjo means "mad," "crazy," but more particularly "furious in battle." Fiksiko means "no heart," "heartless." Yahola refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it. Originally it may have been restricted to a class of criers but later it became "common." The tendency of these names to become "common" in course of time explains why Speck was told that hadjo, fiksiko, imala, and yahola were all of equal rank.[2] 551 554 622

The first word in the title was derived from various sources, but there were two principal kinds. The most important set was based on the name of the totem animal, and in most cases it was the simple name of the animal itself, not a mere reference to it. Names of this kind were usually bestowed only upon persons belonging to clans having the same name, but sometimes they were allowed to those whose fathers belonged to that clan. Another considerable set was taken from names of tribes or towns, particularly those which composed the Creek confederacy. Sometimes they preserved the names of tribes or towns that otherwise would have been forgotten. On the other hand the names of Kân hâtki, Okchai, Pakan tallahassee, Otciapofa, and Alabama seem not to have been used, or if so only rarely. Only a few cases of the use of the name of Muklasa can be recalled. It may be added that the name of the Toad clan, Sâbâktâlgi, also seems not to have been used. Jackson Lewis said that the non- 551 554 614

[2] Speck in Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 117.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

totemic names were taken from the common names which a person's grandfather had used because there would not be enough totemic names. Another set was formed by taking the names of the clan animals, the tribes and towns, and adding the diminutive suffix -utci.

Some of these titles were practically always in use and carried with them a certain seat and function in the square ground. For instance, many town chiefs were called by the name of their town with the addition of the word miko, as for example Tukabahchee miko, Tukpafka miko. The appropriateness of others is not so obvious. For instance, Yuchi miko was a name used in Okchai while Hobayi miko was a permanent name of the Tukabahchee chief. This latter fact agrees well with what I was told by others, that the names Hobayi tástánágі and Hobayi miko were in olden times the most distinguished of all titles, a man having the title hobayi being one who understood all of the strategic arts of war. Very few received these titles, it is said. Again, in Tukabahchee the leader of the Imala łákálgi was always called Imala yahola, the leader of the tástánágálgi Tástánák tcápko, and another of the latter group Tciskale'iga.

As has been stated already, any man could receive several titles in succession, and the bestowal sometimes involved a change in his seat on the square ground, though not necessarily. When my informant Jackson Lewis grew to manhood he received the name Tcowasta'i tástánágі, which entitled him to a seat in the south or Warriors' bed at Eufaula, a seat different from the one he had up to that time occupied. In 1908 he received a third name, Aha'lak tástánágі, but he kept the same seat. When a man became an Isti átca'gágі (abbreviated into I'sti tcagágі) [786] he was not given a new name but was simply called over to another seat.

The ceremony of name giving was after this manner. The leading men of each clan council were asked if they had a boy to name—i. e., a boy whose father belonged to their clan, though the boy himself would be of another clan. If they decided that there was such a boy they selected a name for him and told him what it was to be. When the time came to confer it, which was at the busk when all were fasting, one of the clan leaders—a heniha according to one of my informants—advanced into the square and announced it in a long-drawn-out shout, called by some by the same name as that given to the cry when black drink was being taken, the yahola cry. The boy then came forward, was given tobacco, and was then presented to the chief in a short speech in which the speaker said: "He is now your boy and you can use him for any purpose you desire." It was customary to give names in pairs. For instance, when Jackson Lewis received his last name, one of Mr. Grayson's sons was named with him.

[571]

[786] See pp. 301-308.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

615 leading clans on the opposite side, and, as a mark of this distinction, in the tcitahaia, the so-called "feather dance," those who belonged on the Tciloki side carried eagle feathers [43a] on their wands while those who belonged on the opposite side, the White side, carried white crane feathers. The leading position ascribed to the Eagle by Jackson Lewis is explained by Hawkins's statement to the effect that in [622] his day the chiefs of Tukabahchee, the leading town of the Upper Creeks, were selected from it.[44] At the present time, however, Tukabahchee chiefs are selected from the Raccoon clan, a fact easily accounted for if the Eagle and Raccoon were closely related. Indeed, one of my best informants gave this very reason. In my lists the Eagle and Raccoon are found classed together at Abihkutci. At Lutcapoga it is said that the Eagle was placed with the Aktayatci and Kapitca, but, as we have seen, these were sometimes classed with the Raccoon and Potato. The Salt clan seems to have been particularly prominent in the Alabama tribe. Legus Perryman stated that it was a branch of the Bear, and he is confirmed in every one of the four instances in which the two names occur together in my lists. It is particularly important to obeserve that this association is preserved by the Alabama Indians in Texas. Jackson Lewis classed the Otter with "the Alligator and other water clans," and one might naturally expect it, but as a matter of fact in three of the seven cases which I have recorded it is placed in one phratry with the Wind and Skunk, while in three of the others it is with the Bird and Beaver. All of these clans are White clans; I am therefore of the opinion that the Otter was also considered a White clan and was attached to the others on account of some supposed resemblance to the Skunk and Beaver.

Native informants generally state that the Pahosa are the same as, a part of, or kindred to, the Deer, and this testimony is confirmed by my lists where the two clans are linked together in 11 out of 13 cases in which they are both mentioned, the two exceptions being probably due to imperfect information from the towns concerned. According to Kasihta yahola the Deer people called the Pahosa their "uncles" and the Pahosa called the Deer people their "nephews." The connection of the Mole, Toad, and Tcokote with the Deer has been referred to. The Mole also appears once with the Wind and once with the Raccoon.

The position of the Beaver clan is somewhat peculiar. It was particularly prominent in the towns of the Tulsa group, where it usually supplied the chiefs, and in these towns it ordinarily occurs in a separate phratry. Elsewhere, however, it is so commonly associated with the Bird that many Creeks consider the connection axiomatic. The Beaver people are said to have called the Bird people their "uncles"

[43a] And also, it is said, buzzard feathers. [44] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl

household. Sometimes the house had a porch in front, as is usually the case at the present day. The corncrib was in one part of the yard, it did not matter which, and, as in the case of the Creeks, houses were also put up there for married daughters of the house owner. His sons went elsewhere to live with their wives. When the husband of one of these daughters killed a deer he would send some of the meat to his father-in-law, but the several families did not cook at one fire or live in any sort of communism.

SEATING IN THE CEREMONIAL GROUNDS

When we consult the narratives of the De Soto expedition we find that they speak as if it were usual to find artificial mounds in the center of Indian settlements, the mounds sometimes bearing buildings. Garcilasso has the following to say regarding these:

"The town and the house of the cacique Ossachile were like those of all the other caciques of Florida. Therefore, without making a particular description of this place and this house, it seems proper to give only a general idea of all the capitals and all the houses of the chiefs of the country. I will say then that the Indians endeavor to place their towns upon elevated places. But because, in Florida, they rarely meet this sort of place where they can find the necessary conveniences to build, they raise themselves eminences in this manner. They choose a place where they bring a quantity of earth which they elevate into a kind of platform, two or three pikes high; the top of which is capable of containing ten or twelve or fifteen or twenty houses to lodge the cacique with his family and all his retinue. They then trace, at the bottom of this elevation, a square place conformable to the extent of the village which they would make; and around this place the most important persons build their dwellings. The common people lodge in the same manner; and thus they all environ the house of their chief. In order to ascend to it they draw, in a straight line, streets from top to bottom; each one fifteen or twenty feet wide, and unite them to each other with large posts, which enter very deep into the earth and which serve for walls to these streets. Then they make the stairs with strong beams which they put across, and which they square and join in order that the work may be more even. The steps of these stairs are seven or eight feet wide; so that horses ascend and descend them without difficulty. However, the Indians steepen all the other sides of the platform, with the exception of the stairs, so that they cannot ascend to it; and the dwelling of the chief is sufficiently strong."[88]

Garcilasso's figures frequently need to be divided by from 5 to 10, but there may very well have been some such structure as this since we know that the houses of the Natchez chiefs were elevated on

[88] Shipp's Garcilasso, pp. 300-301.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11

171
361
342
344
622

mounds, along with their ossuaries, as well as the town houses of the Cherokee, though 10 to 20 houses are rather too many to assign to them. The main fact is confirmed, however, by Biedma, who, in speaking of the cross set up at Casqui, says "it is the custom of the Caciques to have near their houses a high hill, made by hand, some having the houses placed thereon."[67] This mound at Casqui is also mentioned by the Fidalgo of Elvas.[68] Ranjel says that the Spaniards set up a cross on the mound of a small village under a chief called Ichisi, somewhere in southern Georgia.[69] Further on he tells us that the "house of worship" of Talimeco, near the lower Savannah, was "on a high mound."[70] In speaking of the town of Uçita, in Florida, Elvas states that "the chief's house stood near the beach, upon a high mount made by hand for defence."[71] Plazas or squares are also referred to several times. Elvas speaks of the town yard of Napetaca, the town yard of Achese, and the town yard of Chicaça.[72] When the Spaniards entered Athahachi to meet Tascaluça, Ranjel says "the chief was on a kind of balcony on a mound at one side of the square."[73] These references show that at that time each town of any importance had a kind of public square and often a mound near by surmounted by public buildings or the residence of the chief. These references, but particularly the last, suggest the ancient arrangement of the Creek square ground as thus described by Bartram:

344
361

"The subjoined plan (fig. 2) will illustrate the form and character of these yards.

"*A*, the great area, surrounded by terraces or banks.

"*B*, a circular eminence, at one end of the yard, commonly nine or ten feet higher than the ground round about. Upon this mound stands the great *Rotunda*, *Hot House*, or *Winter Council House*, of the present Creeks. It was probably designed and used by the ancients who constructed it, for the same purpose.

"*C*, a square terrace or eminence, about the same height with the circular one just described, occupying a position at the other end of the yard. Upon this stands the *Public Square*.

"The banks inclosing the yard are indicated by the letters *b*, *b*, *b*, *b*; *c* indicates the '*Chunk-Pole*,' and *d*, *d*, the '*Slave-Posts*.'

"Sometimes the square, instead of being open at the ends, as shown in the plan, is closed upon all sides by the banks. In the lately built, or new Creek towns, they do not raise a mound for the foundation of their Rotundas or Public Squares. The yard, however, is retained, and the public buildings occupy nearly the same

[67] Bourne's Narr. of De Soto, vol. II, pp. 27-28.
[68] Ibid., vol. I, p. 150.
[69] Ibid., vol. II, p. 88.
[70] Ibid., p. 101.
[71] Ibid., p. 23.
[72] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 44, 56, 103.
[73] Ibid., vol. II, p. 130.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

344 554 621 to the traders as the "second men's cabin." The henihâlgi always acted as companions, seconds, or lieutenants of the chiefs, and during the busk each principal official must be accompanied by a heniha. It is for this reason that the traders called them "second men." Their origin we will consider later.[a] Probably we can not solve the problem which they present entirely, but it may be mentioned that a class bearing practically the same name existed among the Timucua of Florida and that inihi in that language meant "consort" (husband or wife). For our present purposes it is important to find out what clans in each town—so far as it can be determined—constituted the mikâlgi or chiefs, and the henihâlgi or second men, and how these and all other clans were seated. Originally the tástánágálgi or warriors seem to have been formed by promotion from all clans, but latterly the name has sometimes become identified with certain particular ones. Taking up first the chiefs and henihas we find the following condition in the different towns: 614 622

Town	Chiefs	Henihas [1]
Talladega	Bear	Raccoon.
Abihka (near Eufaula)	Raccoon or Bear [2]	Bear or Raccoon (second chief).[3]
Abihka-in-the-West	Panther	Raccoon.
Kan-tesli	Bear	Do.
Otciapofa	Beaver	Wind.
Tulsa Little River	do	Bird.
Tulsa Canadian	do	Beaver (second chief).
Intcapoga	do	Bird [3] (Beaver, second chief).
Oktuskee	Bird (Bear—J. Lewis)	Bear.
Tcatokaofka	Bear	Beaver (second chief).
Abihkntci	do	Bird.
Nuyaka	do	Wind.
Talmutcasi	(1) Bird (2) Raccoon	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Pakan tallahassee	(1) Aktayatci (2) (Bear—J. Lewis).	(1) Wind; (2) Bird.
Wiogufki	(1) Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis); Wind (later); Alligator (later).	Wind; Alligator (later).
Tukpafka	Aktayatci	Panther.
Asilanabi	Bear; Raccoon (later)	Wind; Deer (later).
Okchai	Aktayatci (Raccoon—J. Lewis) [4]	Bird (Deer).
Kâlogâlga	Raccoon	Deer (second chief).
Wiwohka	(1) Panther [5] (Bird—J. Lewis) (2) Raccoon.	(1) Wind. (2) Wind.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear [6]	Bear or Wind.[6]
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind (Panther, second chief).
Tukabahchee	Raccoon (Eagle—Hawkins)	Wind.[6]
Atasi	Bear [7]	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.

[1] In some cases the name of the second chief's clan is remembered but the name of the heniha's clan forgotten. At times the two are confounded, and at times they are distinguished. (See p. 287.)

[2] The two clans were said to furnish the chief and second chief alternately.

[3] Legus Perryman seemed to think, however, that a Tcîoki clan, perhaps the Aktayatci, furnished the henihas.

[4] Raccoon according to Jackson Lewis and another informant.

[5] Panther according to two informants.

[6] According to Kasihta yahola the Tukabahchee use the Deer clan as henihas "during the woman's dance."

[7] The last chief belonged, however, to the Bird clan.

[a] See pp. 293-295

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
622

Town	Chiefs	Henihas
Łapáhka	(1) Bear	(1) Bird (second chief).
	(2) Raccoon	(2) Bear or Wind.
Łiwahali	(1) Panther	(1) Deer.
	(2) Panther	(2) Aktayatci or Fox.
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator, Turkey, and Tâmi.
Upper Eufaula	Aktayatci (anciently Eagle)	Do.[8]
Alabama	Bear [9]	(1) Aktayatci.
		(2) Alligator, Bird, etc.
Kashita	Bear [10] (Alligator—Gatschet)	Wind (Istani—Hawkins); (Alligator, second chief).
Hitchiti	Bird (Tâmi—Jackson Lewis)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (Deer, in last organization)	Bear (Bird, in last organization).
Yuchi	(Passes from father to son irrespective of clan:)	
Coweta	Fish [11] (Wind)	Bird.[12]
Łikatcka	Alligator	Wind (Bear, second chief).
Eufaula Hobayi	(1) Kapitca	(1) Deer (?).
	(2) Bear (second inf.)	(2) Wind (second inf.)
Chiaha	(1) Raccoon, Potato, or Fox	(1) Bear or Deer.
	(2) Bear	(2) Bear.
	(3) Wind	(3) Aktayatci, Potato, Alligator, Tâmi, Raccoon, Fox.
Osochi	(1) Fox (Jim Sapulpa)	(1) Wind (Jim Sapulpa).
	(2) Potato (Tob Tiger)	(2) Panther (Tob Tiger).
Ochese	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee Seminole	do	Bird (second chief).
Tallahassatci	do	Bird.
Hitchiti Seminole	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula Seminole	Kapitca	Panther.[13]
Łiwahali Seminole	(1) Bird	(1) Bear.
	(2) Potato	(2) Bird.
Chiaha Seminole	Bear	Wind.[14]
Miccasuki	(1) Alligator	(1) Alligator (Panther, second chief; Potato, third chief).[15]
	(2) Snake (anciently); Panther (later)	(2) Panther (anciently); Alligator (later).

[8] According to Jackson Lewis. Later the Bird clan seems to have occupied this position, though according to some Hilibi people the Wind once performed the function.

[9] One of the last chiefs belonged to the Wind clan.

[10] According to three different informants.

[11] Hawkins and Ispahihta (Sde-Gatschet) both give the Fish, which we may therefore assume to have been the chief's clan in ancient times.

[12] According to both my own informants and those of Doctor Gatschet (Creek Ms. vocab.).

[13] These clans are called tastánagilgi but take the place of the henihâlgi.

[14] See Fig. 52.

Regarding the Texas Alabama I learned the following facts. Within the memory of living Indians the chieftainship has not passed down in a single clan. The first head chief held in remembrance was leader of the tribe before they came to Texas. His name has not been preserved but he was the grandfather of John Scott, the late chief, and he belonged to the Daddy-longlegs clan. The second head chief is remembered as "old man Antone." He belonged to the Bear clan, and the second chief under him was a Tawasa Indian of the Beaver clan named Celestine. Antone was succeeded by the late chief, John Scott, who was of the Deer clan. The second chief under him was formerly John Walker, a Bear.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
622

By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihà
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłàko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Tàmi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Tàmi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talk hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tàstànàgi).
Łiwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tàstànàgi).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

614
616
622

A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihàlgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihàlgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

I: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
616
622

the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

1: Swanton · E45 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

614
622

Turning to the chiefs, we do not find such a simple proposition. The chief was selected from the Bear clan in 8 and possibly 11 cases, from the Beaver in 4, from the Aktayatci in 3 and possibly 4, from the Raccoon in 2 to 4, the Bird in from 1 to 4, the Fox or Potato in 2 to 3, the Wind in perhaps 3, the Kapitca in 2 cases, and the Fish, Eagle, Panther, Tâmi, Deer, Alligator, and Snake in single cases. The Beaver clan furnished the chiefs in the Tulsa towns and in three Seminole towns which had probably drawn most of their population from the Tulsa towns. The Aktayatci led in Hilibi, Upper Eufaula, Wiogufki, and possibly Pakan tallahassee. The Raccoon is found in two towns traditionally related or closely connected, Tukabahchee and Kealedji, and in Koasati, a near neighbor. The Bird occurs in this position principally in Hitchiti and Hitchiti Seminole, the Wind in the Lower Creek towns, particularly Coweta, and in Tuskegee, the Fox and Potato in the related towns of Chiaha and Osochi, and the Kapitca in Lower Eufaula and in Eufaula Seminole. Of the isolated cases the Eagle is already explained as a branch of or now incorporated with the Raccoon, and in the same way the Fish was an old branch of, or has been incorporated into, the Wind.

The other single cases are all reported from towns that have long given up the busk or which are known to have been reduced very much in numbers and otherwise disorganized. They also occur sometimes where there is disagreement. The Bear clan is the only one that by the number of cases and their distribution suggests a position for the chieftainship similar to that of the Wind for the henihâlgi. This is brought out more strongly by the discovery of several cases in which the Bear has been superseded by some other clan only in recent times. By several early writers we find it stated that the White towns were governed by chiefs and the Red towns by warriors. It is evident that tástánâgis were never chiefs of towns; therefore all this statement could mean is that the chiefs of Red towns were drawn from Red clans. Examining our lists we find that, in fact, with two exceptions, all of the White towns about which there is unanimity of opinion were ruled by chiefs drawn from White clans. Of the two exceptions one, Wiogufki, claimed relationship with Eufaula and Hilibi, and is said to have been originally a Red town, while the other, Koasati, has long ceased to have busks, and the organization that is remembered is probably one that was adopted after the older form had been partly given up. There are a few other White towns which some hold to have been ruled by Red clans, but one of them, Wiwohka, was thought to be composed of refugees from all quarters, and it early became reduced and disorganized. Another, Pakan tallahassee, which now has the same head clan as Hilibi, Wiogufki, and Eufaula, has in late years been closely associated with those towns. Finally, Gatschet was told that the miko of Hitchiti was a Raccoon,

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

and Jackson Lewis said the same thing. This is perhaps to be accounted for by the influence of Tukabahchee, but it is confessedly difficult to explain. Turning to the Red towns we find that all of them were indeed headed by Red clans except Coweta, Atasi, Łaplâko, Alabama, and one or two Seminole towns. The Seminole towns need not be considered on account of the disturbance which they suffered at the time of the removal to Florida and again in the removal to Oklahoma. Alabama may also be disregarded, as it is well known that it was formerly on the White side, associated with Okchai, and the case of Atasi may be dismissed because only one or two persons know anything about it and the organization as they remember it was evidently very much altered. Coweta and Łaplâko, however, constitute important exceptions which can not so readily be brushed aside. There is reason to believe that the clans known to have held the chieftainship, or related clans of the same side, were long in occupancy of the head position. Nevertheless generally we do have an apparent conformity in leadership between White clans and White towns, and Red clans and Red towns. We know that both chiefs and henihas were changed in recent times owing to the playing out of clans. Originally the chiefs of Okchai were chosen from the Bear and Wind because they are powerful, but later changed to the Raccoon and Deer because they are peaceful. If there were many deaths in a town the circumstance might be attributed to the ruling clan and the clans be changed for better luck.

We now turn to the second point to be determined—the position of the clans in the different beds or arbors. To prepare the ground for this, however, it will be necessary first to indicate the position which the beds occupied in the various towns. Although, as explained above, the names of these varied to some extent I shall call them the chiefs' bed, warriors' bed, henihas' bed, and youths' bed. Originally the women had no seats inside the square but had to content themselves with the rough benches beyond its limits. Adair says that the only women admitted into the Chickasaw[1] tcokofa during ceremonials were six "old beloved women" who entered once annually to take part in a certain dance. At other times, however, he states that women could sit on each side of the door. In some few cases it is impossible to distinguish the two, or even the three, last named beds, but this will disturb the general result very slightly. In the following table I indicate these positions for the various towns in accordance with the best information obtainable.

[1] Supposing that the town he was describing was actually Chickasaw. See p. 560.

1: Swantcn E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11 Muskogee

GOVERNMENT

619 621 642 The Creek governmental unit was a body of people living for the most part in a single locality and known as a tálwa. As has been already stated, this word is now used in a rather loose sense and is generally translated "town," but its connotation rather covers the English concept "tribe." Some bodies which the Creeks called tálwa were once independent, and anciently it is probable that the term applied only to distinct tribes, and that in later years it was used for those same tribes as constituent parts of the Creek confedera-

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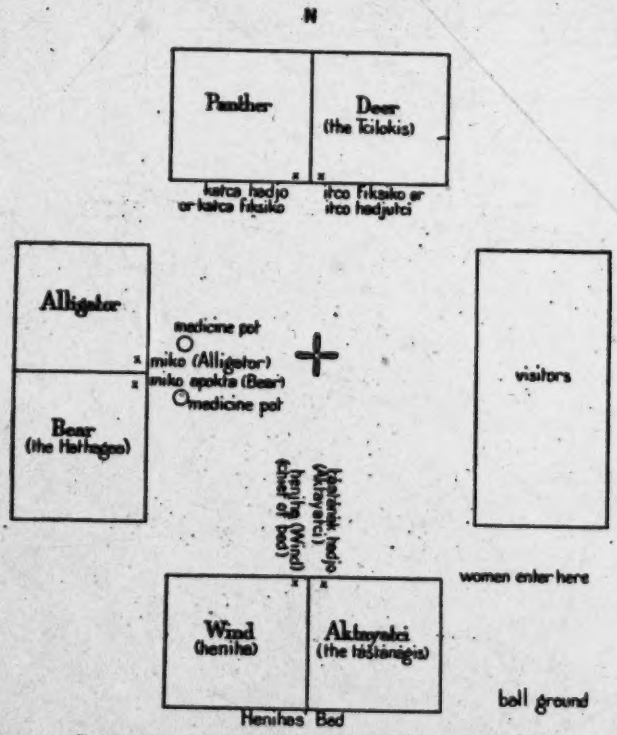

FIG. 79.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tukabatchi or Broken Arrow

tion, while still later it was given to new bodies which separated from these, particularly such as came to have square grounds of their own.

[622] After their admission to the federated body each tálwa remained virtually self-governing; its principal executive officer was known in the Muskogee language as the miko. Swan says that up to his time the Red towns had always been governed by warriors, the White towns alone being under mikos.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

towns alone being under mikos.[28] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

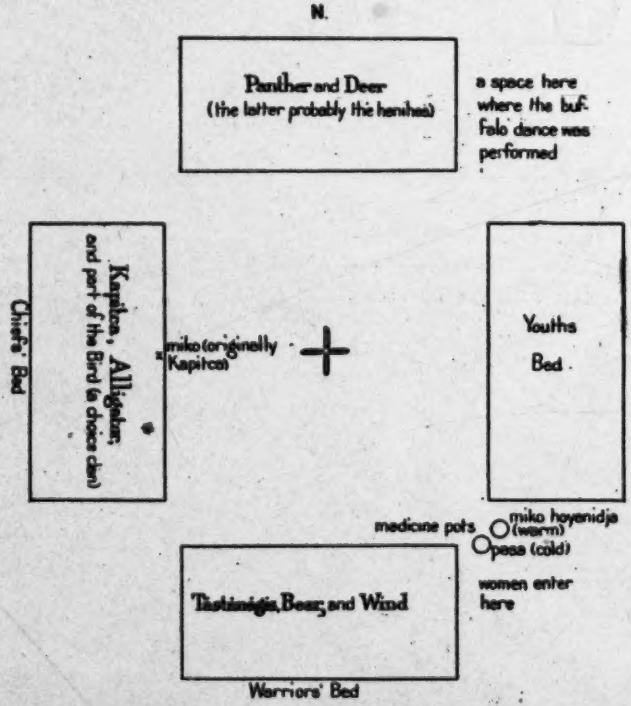

FIG. 60.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[28] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Muskogee

●622 talks; lays them before the town, and delivers the talks of his town."[27] Bartram remarks:

"He has the disposal of the corn and fruits, and gives audience to ambassadors, deputies, and strangers who come to the town or tribe, [574] receives presents, etc. He alone has the privilege of giving a public feast to the whole town, consisting of barbecued bear or fat bulls or steers, which he must kill himself; and this is called the king's

[344 621]

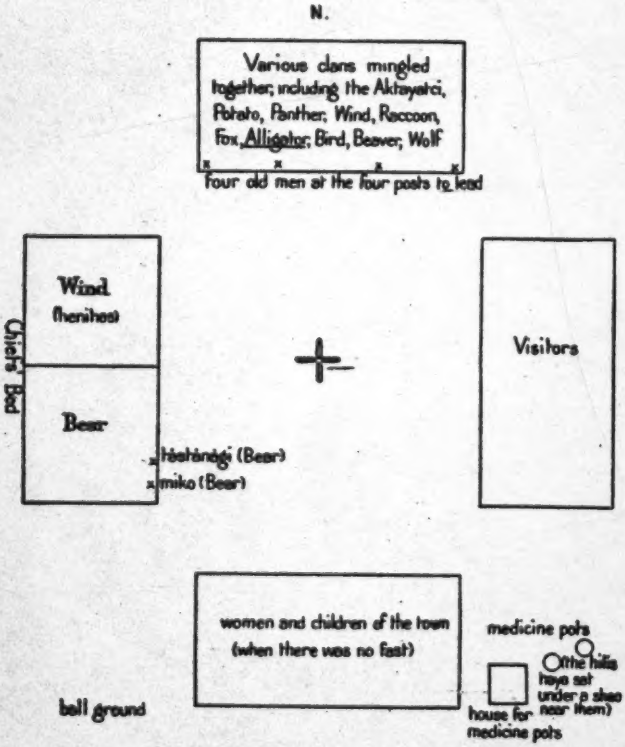
N.
Various clans mingled together; including the Aktayatci, Potato, Panther; Wind, Raccoon, Fox, Alligator; Bird, Beaver; Wolf
four old men at the four posts to lead
Wind (herihes)
Chief's Bed
Bear
Hoktánga (Bear)
miko (Bear)
Visitors
women and children of the town (when there was no fast)
medicine pots
(the hills have set under a shed near them)
house for medicine pots
ball ground

FIG. 81.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (II)

feast, or royal feast. And when he intends to give this frolic, after a successful hunt, he sends messengers to prepare the village. They display the king's standard in front and at one corner of his house, and hoist a flag in the Public Square, beat drums about the town, and the inhabitants dress and paint themselves, for there is dancing and frolicking all that night."[28]

[27] Hawkins in Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 69.
[28] Bartram in Trans. Am. Eth. Soc., vol. III, p. 34

1/x [i.e., the miko. -- Analyst]

J: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

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Speck says regarding the Tuskegee miko:

"The function of this dignitary, as the civil head of the town, was to receive all embassies from other tribes, to direct the decisions of the town council according to his judgment, and finally to stand as the representative of the town in foreign negotiations. . . . The town chief had also to appoint the time for the annual harvest ceremony. He had personal charge of the town square and the lodges about it, and it was his duty to distribute the broken sticks to the heads of families by which they were to number the days to elapse

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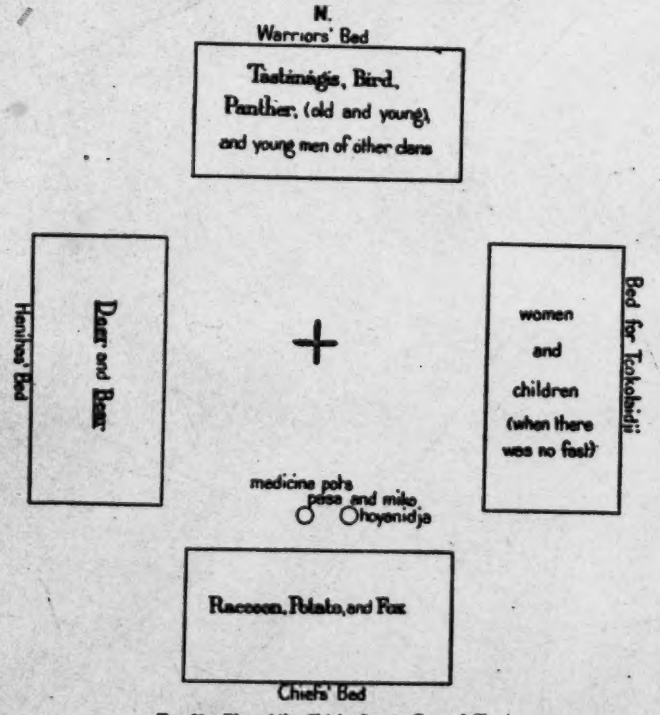

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (I)

before the ceremony. The Taskigi have been known to depose their town chief on the ground of inefficiency and to elect another from his clan instead." [29]

Theoretically the miko was little more than head of the tribal council and spokesman of his tribe, but his actual power varied with his individual ability. Although such cases may have occurred, there is no record of a miko undertaking any important action with-

[29] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Ass'n, vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Hitchiti

622 out conferring with his council. The miko is called "king" by early writers and traders, and in fact the Creeks themselves applied this term to the highest officials among the whites, such as the governors of Carolina and Georgia, and to European monarchs, the King of Great Britain for instance having been known as Antapala miko łáko, "the great miko on the other side of [the ocean]." As we have seen, the miko had the seat of honor in the public square, and we learn from Spanish sources that before horses were introduced he

[344 621]

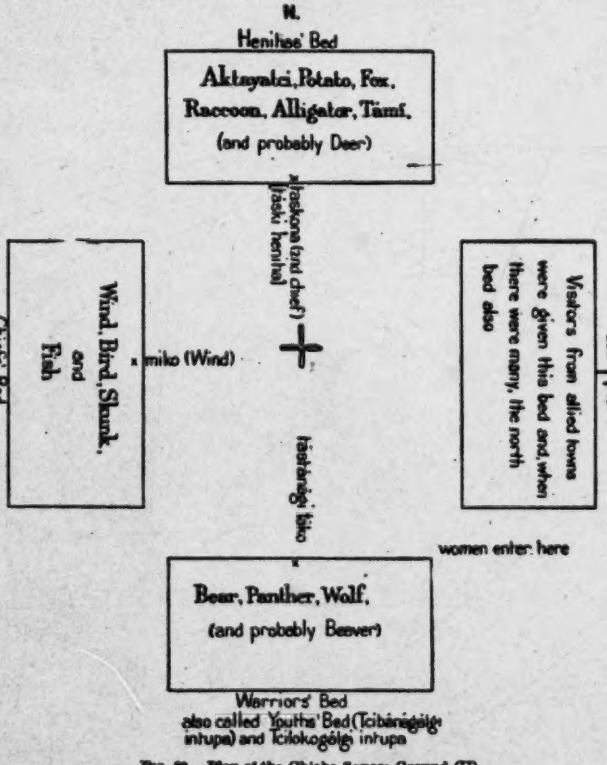
N.
Henihes' Bed
Aktayatci, Potato, Fox, Raccoon, Alligator, Tämf, (and probably Deer)
Haskona (and chief) (haski henihe)
Wind, Bird, Skunk, and Fish
Chief's Bed
x miko (Wind)
Visitors from allied towns were given this bed and, when there were many, the north bed also
ball pole
łastánigi łáko
women enter here
Bear, Panther, Wolf, (and probably Beaver)
Warriors' Bed
also called Youths' Bed (Tcibánigigi intupa) and Tcilokogólgi intupa

FIG. 32.—Plan of the Chiaha Square Ground (II)

was carried about on state occasions in a litter borne on the shoulders of his principal men.

614 622 The association between clanship and the office of miko has already been dwelt upon. It has been shown that the miko was ordinarily chosen from some particular clan, but that the clan would be changed if the tribe suffered any misfortune, or sometimes, as frequently happened in later years, if the royal clan ran out so that no suitable

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

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622

person could be found in it to occupy the position. It is probable that readjustments took place even in very early times, for Adair, speaking of the Chickasaw, says: "The most numerous tribe commonly bore the highest command; yet their old warriors assure us, it was not so even within their own remembrance." [80] As between the available candidates inside of the proper clan, selection was made in several different ways, depending on the town. According to a Coweta informant, he was selected by the members of the White clans, including, of course, only those individuals who had seats on

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621]

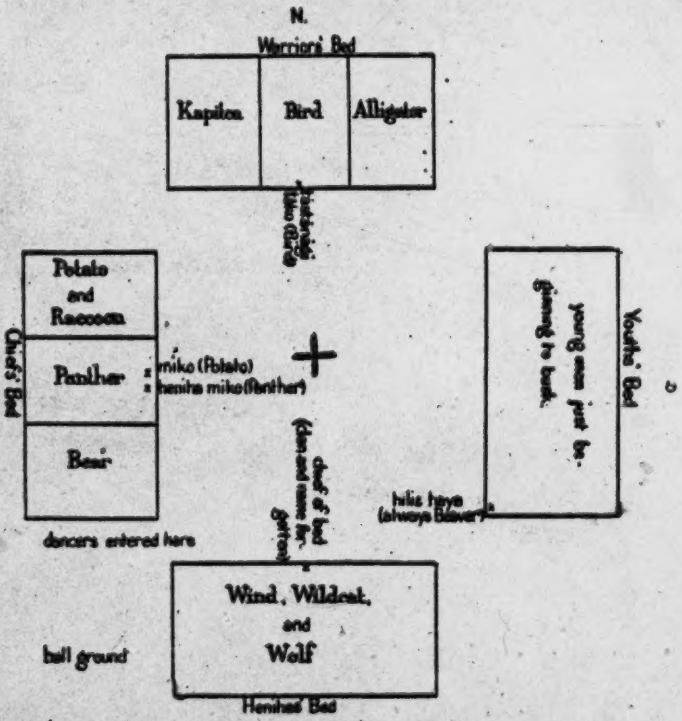

FIG. 34.—Plan of the Creek Square Ground (I)

the square ground. This agrees partially with what Ispahihtca told Doctor Gatschet, that at Kasihta the chief and "vice-chief" were selected by those who sat in the south or "white" bed.[81] According to the description of the Kasihta square, which Ispahihtca himself gives, all of the clans in that bed were indeed White except the Potato and Deer. His remark may have been intended to cover only the White clans.

[80] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 81. [81] Gatschet, MS. notes; see p. 86.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12) 1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Osochi

•622 According to Jackson Lewis, who was best acquainted with Upper Eufaula, the selection was made by the other members of the same clan, but this seems to have been unusual. According to a Hilibi Indian well versed in everything connected with the organization of a town, the miko was selected by three men, one taken from the clan of the former chief, one from the clan of his father, and a third who appears not to have belonged to any particular clan. My informant added that they uniformly selected the humblest person belonging

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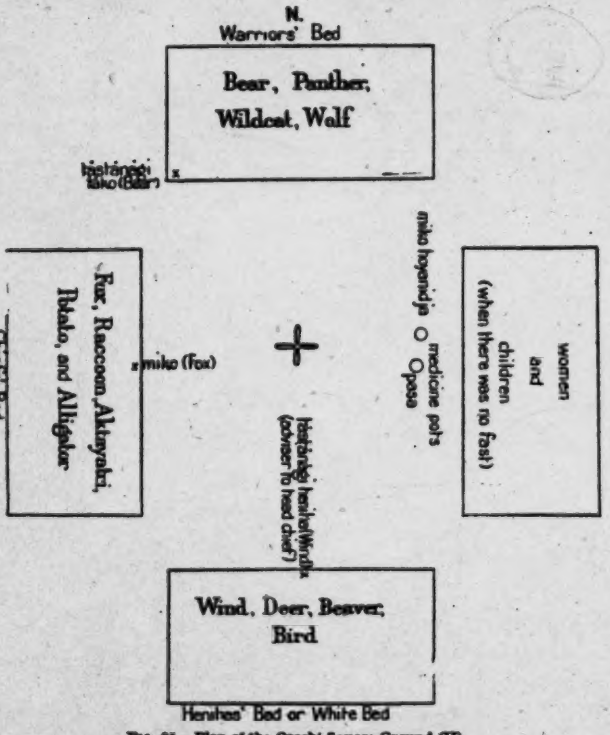

FIG. 85.—Plan of the Osochi Square Ground (II)

to the royal clan and those who picked him out always had to labor with him to induce him to accept. Some of this reluctance was no doubt a matter of etiquette, but the public and ceremonial demands of the position were so great and so much of the well-being or misfortune of the tribe was attributed to the incumbent that he may well have shrunk from the responsibility. The miko was, however, at liberty to resign. Some of those who selected the miko might belong to Red clans but he was always inducted into office by a member of one of the White clans. He was seated upon an unsmoked buckskin and

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622.

an address was delivered to him by a speaker appointed for that purpose in which his future duties and the expectations of the tribe regarding him were set forth. In 1912 the then chief of the Yuchi informed me that when he was installed he was placed upon a buckskin which had been dressed by a virgin, and in the speech which was made to him the other members of the tribe were called his "children" and his duties to them were set forth. He was told that all of the paths were white for him; that he was to be governed by that fact and shed

S. [344 621]

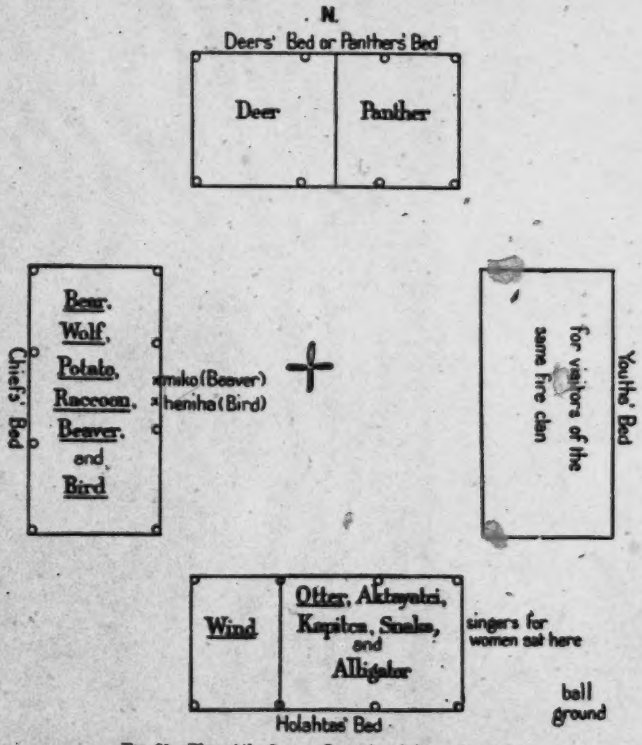

FIG. 68.—Plan of the Square Ground of Ochasee Seminole

no blood. The ceremony was completed by all passing around behind him in single file. This ceremony seems to have been common to all of the towns of the confederacy. It emphasizes the miko's close connection with affairs of peace.

C 622 624

In Tukabahchee the organization was somewhat different, there being seven principal chiefs (mikági) who sat in the front seat of the Chiefs' bed, extending from the center to the southern end. Each of them had an assistant or heniha (an official to be noted presently). If the head miko, who sat in the center of the bed, did not succeed—

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNIl Creek NNIl
Seminole NNI6

C. 622 624

i. e., if the town did not prosper under him, whether he was responsible or not—or if his hanjha died he had to surrender his place and move down to the foot of the row of mikos, the rest of whom moved up, and the man next to him took his place. Vacancies in the row of mikos were filled by the remaining mikos in consultation with the tástánágis, who were called over to the Chiefs' bed to confer about the matter. The man selected was escorted to his seat by another miko or by a tástánágí. Mention has already been made of the anomalous

S. [344 621]

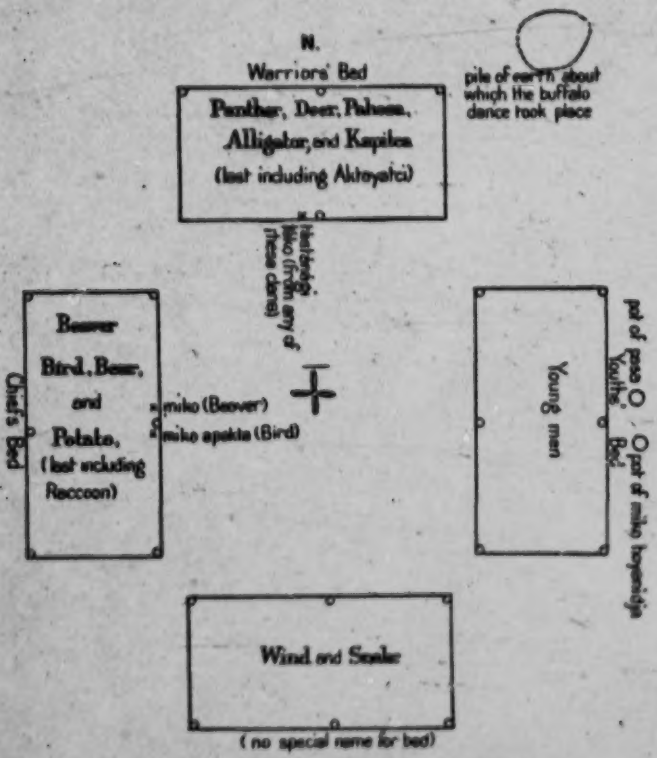

FIG. 57.—Plan of the Square Ground of Okfuskee Samfonda

miko called Ispokogi miko, who perhaps enjoyed priestly functions, but of course nothing is known regarding the manner of his selection, the institution having died out too long ago.

C. 622

Tukabahchee preserves its old square organization very well and its system of government may be representative of that of other Creek towns, but I am inclined to think that considerable differences always existed. The Coweta head chief is said to have been elected at a meeting of the entire town, but the actual selection may have

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622

been entrusted to the White clans (see p. 281). Probably he was chosen in the same way as the second chief who is said to have been nominated by the White clans, and the nomination confirmed, merely as a matter of form, by the Tcilokis. According to Legus Perryman, the chiefs at Lutcapoga, along with the other officers of each of the three beds, were chosen by the members of the other two, the only limitation being in respect to the clan from which they could be taken.

The chiefs of the Texas Alabama were elected at a general meeting of the tribe, but this statement applies only to recent times, and

S. [344 621]

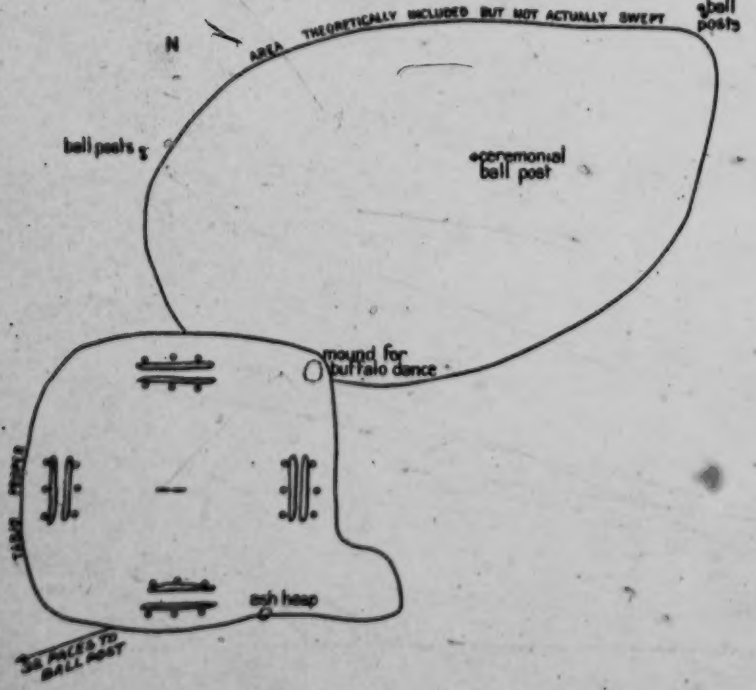

FIG. 38.—Oklahoma Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1913

before they left the other Creeks in Alabama their custom may have been different.

C. 614 622 624

As we have seen in the case of Tukabahchee, there were sometimes assistant chiefs. At Tukabahchee they were all of one clan, but sometimes they were of different clans, perhaps in such cases the heads of their respective clans, for we know that the oldest or most influential uncle in each presided at clan councils and advised his fellows regarding their conduct. This has been spoken of already. At Pakan tallahassee the miko, who belongs to the Aktayatci clan, sits

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 •622 624

in the middle of the north bed, on his left his henihа, and on his right, in succession, a second chief of the Wind clan, a third chief of the Bear (or Panther) clan, and a fourth chief of the Bird (or Panther) clan.

Usually, however, there was one principal subordinate chief, or vice chief, miko apokta ("twin chief") as he was called, and the customs regarding him seem to have varied considerably from town

S. [344 621]

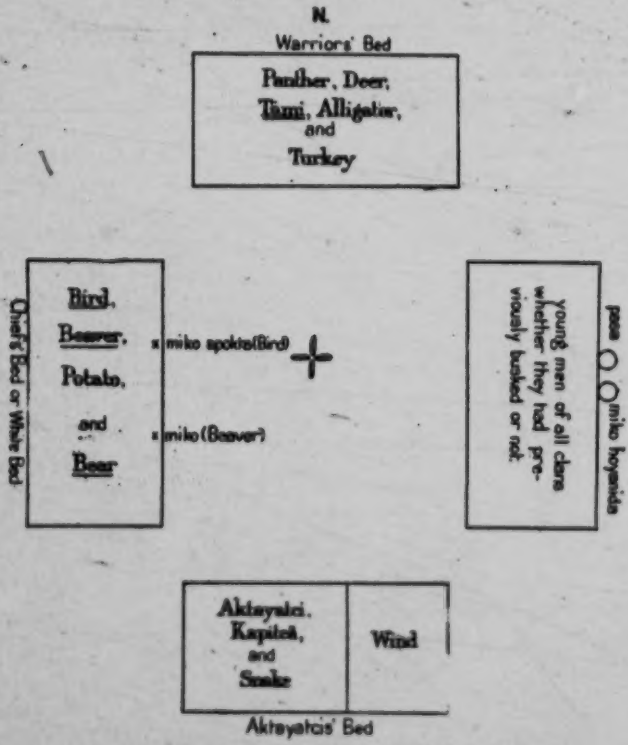

FIG. 88.—Plan of the Square Ground of Tallahassetci Seminole

to town. Hawkins says of this chief: "When a Mic-co, from age, infirmity, or any other cause, wants an assistant, he selects a man who appears to him the best qualified, and proposes him to the counsellors and great men of the town, and if he is approved of by them, they appoint him as an assistant in public affairs, and he takes his seat on this cabin accordingly." The second chief in Tulsa Canadian, Lutcapoga, and probably in the other Tulsa towns as well, belonged to the Beaver clan, the same as that which furnished the first chief. According to Legus Perryman, the second chief of Lutcapoga was

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 622 624 614

called the itá'lwa mi'ko. He was assistant to the head chief and, while the authority of the latter extended over the town as a whole, he concerned himself with matters of a more local character, particularly those connected with the square. He might be called the "square chief." Similarly, the second chief of Coweta, who was taken from the Panther clan, is said to have been "chief of the square," while the head chief was "speaker for the other towns friendly to Coweta." This may refer back to the time when the Coweta chief was also chief of all the Lower Creeks. The second chief of Łiwahali is said to have been of the Aktayatci or Fox clan and to have taken charge if, for any reason, the miko had to leave the square ground. In Łikatcha the miko belonged to the Alligator clan and the miko apokta to the Bear. I was informed that at Chiaha the miko and heniha were both taken from the Bear clan, but the miko apokta must have been intended instead of the heniha. From Speck it appears that the position of miko apokta at Tuskegee was of a less permanent character. He says: "If the miko could not leave his town he appointed a delegate who bore his title to attend the councils of other towns or those of the Confederacy."[1]

S. [344]

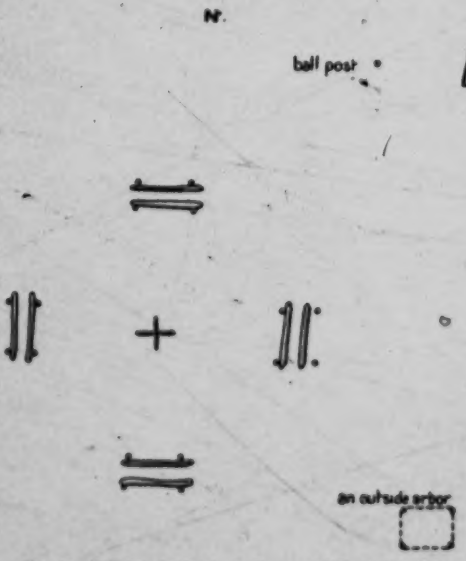

FIG. 90.—Tallahassetci Seminole Ceremonial Ground in 1912

Connected evidently with the institution of a miko apokta was a condition reported from several towns in which the chieftainship alternated between two clans. I was informed that in Tcatoksofka such an alternation took place between the Bear and Beaver clans. If the head chief belonged to the Bear clan and the second chief to the Beaver clan, and the former died the latter would become head chief, a member of the Bear clan being chosen as second chief. In Tuskegee a similar alternation took place between the Bear and Wind clans, and in the old Abihka town near Eufaula an alternation is reported between the Bear and Raccoon. This Abihka square has, however, long been given up and the other Abihka towns do not seem

[1] Speck in Mem. Am. Anthrop. Assn., vol. II, p. 113.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11
Seminole NN16

C. 614 •622 to have preserved the custom, although in two of them the chiefs are Bear and the henihas Raccoon. In the Seminole town of Talahasutci there is said to have been an alternation between the Beaver and the Bird clans. I was told that, after the last reorganization of the Hitchiti square in which the miko was taken from the Bird clan and the heniha from the Deer, in an emergency the latter could be made miko and the former heniha.

C. 624 In addition to the chiefs, second chiefs, and similar leaders there was anciently a considerable body of persons called mikági, or mikálgi,

S. [344 621]

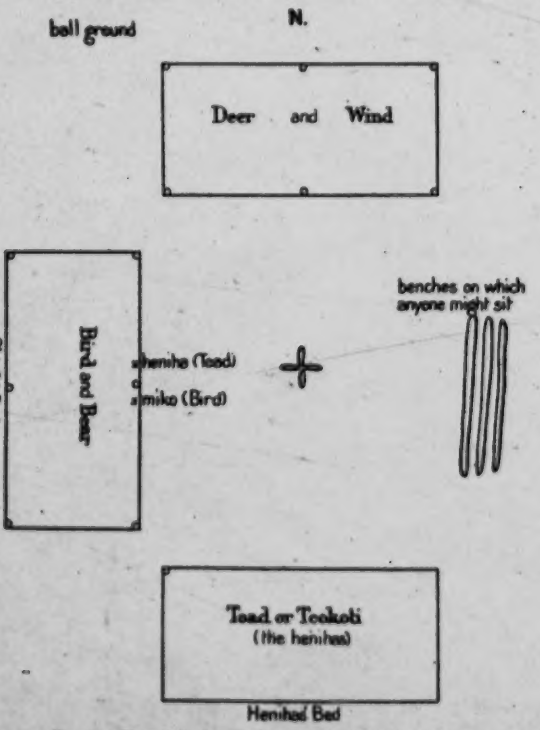

FIG. 91.—Plan of the Square Ground of Hitchiti Seminole

the plural of miko, who performed minor functions. These were ordinarily taken from the same clan as the head miko, though it may be possible that the appellation was extended beyond under certain circumstances, particularly in later times. It is even possible that the name may have been bestowed at the busk on account of an ancestor who had this title and with no office or dignity attached. All we can say is that the mikági belonged theoretically, and usually, to the clan of the head miko. The following account of this class by

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

619 631 stands first and Lower Creeks will assign the place of honor to Coweta. Tukabahchee is certainly first in size and first in the regard in which it is held by those who keep to the old customs, but if one goes back into the earlier history of the Creeks as revealed in documents it becomes plain that Coweta was regarded as leader. Its chief was at one time honored by the Whites with the title of "emperor" and the name Coweta was extended over all of the Lower Creeks.[83]

• 622 A French writer gives the following picture of the Coweta chief at the period of the Yamasee war (1715), though it is unlikely that he had as much to do with the inception of that contest as is represented:

"The nation of the Caoüita is ruled by an emperor who in 1714 [1715] had all the English destroyed, not only all those who were in the nation but also those among the Abecá, Talapouches, Alibamons, and Cheraqùi. . . . They [the English] made the emperor very great presents to regain his friendship and that of his nation. The French also give him presents as do the Spaniards, which makes him very rich, for the French who go to visit him are served in silver vessels. He is a man of good appearance and good character. He has many slaves who are busied night and day preparing food for those coming and going on visits to him. He seldom goes afoot, always having horses well caparisoned, as do many of the people of his village. He is absolute in the nation (i. e., among the Lower Creeks). He has a quantity of cattle and kills some of them at times to regale his friends. No one has ever been able to make him take the side of any one of the European nations which are acquainted with him, for he asserts that he wishes to see everyone, to be neutral, and not to espouse any of the quarrels which the French, English, and Spaniards may have with one another." [84]

619 631 642 648 177 The headship of Coweta became a matter of importance in the early part of the nineteenth century when negotiations were inaugurated by the whites for the removal of the Indians constituting the Creek confederacy. The Lower Creeks being much more favorably disposed to the plan than those of the Upper towns, white officials strove to make as much of the primacy of Coweta as possible. In a letter written by Duncan G. Campbell to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, December 18, 1824, he says:

"This Coweta town is the most extensive and numerous in the nation, and claims to be the original town of the whole tribe, and that all others are its branches. In proof of this priority of standing I beg leave to refer you to our journal, which contains a communication from the council of the 11th of December, in which they say that 'the first red people that ever visited the whites were from the Coweta

[83] The title was given both by English and French. See Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, p. 67. The latter writer adds, however, that the town chiefs refused to give up their independence and change the ancient organization.

[84] French Memoir of 1735, Ms.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

642 631 643 Micco is of the Upper Creeks. In general council the two principal chiefs preside seated by the side of each other; but Roly McIntosh takes the right and is considered the Senior or Head Chief of the Nation. For local purposes, among the Upper Creeks there are four Creeks called Counselling Chiefs, one of whom is called the King, and he transacts the current business of the party subject to the control of the Principal Chief whenever the latter thinks proper to interfere, as on important occasions.

642 631 •622 "After these are the Chiefs of the different towns. . . There may be forty-five towns, each of which has a Principal Chief or King and a sub-chief. In each town there are persons called *lawyers*, from four up to 40 or even 45, according to the population, whose duty it is to execute the laws. They are subject to the views of the Head Chiefs of the Nation who send them on important missions when necessary.

"The Lower Creeks have two persons in authority called Light Horse, who are [of the nature] of Sheriffs [and are employed] for the collection of debts with other similar duties and are paid each a salary of $150 a year.

"All of the Chiefs of every grade are permanently in power unless they resign or from misconduct are deposed. The mode of filling a vacancy is assimilated to an election by the people, but upon recommendations made by those already in power, to which the popular voice presents scarcely an obstacle.

642 646 "The general council for business is composed of the two principal chiefs and the Kings, including those of the Towns. These constitute the aristocratic portion of the government. There is another branch composed of one or two persons elected by each town from among the lawyers with one judge from the Upper and one from the Lower Creeks, which constitute what is called a Committee. This has the appearance of a popular branch. Sometimes the number of the Committee is increased on important occasions. These are appointed by the Kings of the different towns but [selected] from the people.

"A law generally originates in the Committee. If approved there it is sent to the principal chiefs for their approval. If approved by the principal chiefs it is a law. But practically the Chiefs make the laws and unmake them." [a]

By "lawyers" we are evidently to understand leading men conversant with the customs and usages of their people; probably not a fixed class in the community. The "aristocratic portion of the government,"—the Creek Senate if we might so term it—had thus exceeded the body of 15 of Stiggins's time, and in this Hitchcock is confirmed by Gregg, whose information was obtained about two years earlier and who says: "Their executive consists of two principal

[a] Gen. E. A. Hitchcock, Ms. notes.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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chiefs, and their legislature or council of about forty minor chiefs or captains, who are also, *ex officio*, justices of the peace." [69]

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The economic causes operating to increase the number of chiefs, to which reference was made above, are indicated in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of September 15, 1851, by Philip H. Raiford, agent of the Creek Indians. He says:

"The rude and irresponsible form of government by chiefs still prevails among them. The chiefs all receive salaries in proportion to their grade and rank, or, in other words, a larger share of the common fund of the tribe than the great mass of the Indians. The result of this system has been a great increase in the number of chiefs, until they now amount to about eight hundred, or one to every twenty-five souls; and, as the moneys due from the Government to the tribe are now paid to the chiefs, and they have it in their power to fix their own salaries, a large portion of the funds of the nation is divided out among themselves, and but little left for the great mass. Great wrong and injustice are thus done to the common Indians; and, as they are beginning to perceive and become dissatisfied with the system, and the evil continues to increase by the increase of chiefs, the result before long will inevitably be serious—internal dissentions and difficulties, if not strife and bloodshed, between the chiefs and their partisans on the one hand, and the common Indians on the other, unless the Government interposes some remedy for this unfortunate state of affairs." [70]

The word "chief" as employed by Mr. Raiford evidently does not refer merely to the class of mikàgi. Apparently it included the principal mikos, the isti àtcagàgi, and the leading henihas and tàstànàgis. We are not to suppose that the great increase in the number of chiefs of which this agent speaks was due to a desire on the part of the chiefs to share their privileges; it was rather for the purpose of securing those privileges by taking into partnership all who might have been powerful enough to endanger them. Another Indian agent, James Logan, writing some years before, in 1845, speaks of the abuse as follows:

"The annuity, amounting to [$]34,500, is paid to the principal chiefs of both [Upper and Lower Creeks], and equally divided between them, and by them distributed. . ." [71] The chiefs appropriate the whole of this large amount to the pay of themselves and their subordinates. This mode of distributing it is much complained of by the intelligent portion of the community, who are now far from being inconsiderable, and the right thus arrogated by the chiefs of doing what they please with the annuity much questioned. But they are vested with so much power, and have inspired so much awe and fear

[69] Gregg, Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, vol. 20, p. 315.
[70] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851, p. 122.
[71] The writer refers here to an unpublished document for confirmation.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

642 in the minds of the people generally, that they are restrained from making a public expression upon the subject. Indeed, I question very much whether there could be found many who would, before them, say that they objected to their acts in any particular. This I have sought for in regard to the annuity, and have failed to accomplish, owing to the preponderance of the chiefs and law makers, etc., and to the cause above stated."[77]

The abuse became so great that payments were finally made directly to the heads of families and the old privileges of the chiefs abolished. They suffered the same fate that betook the ringleaders in a certain conspiracy formed not long ago by some of the members and employees of a large corporation. In order to keep what was going on quiet, it was necessary to let more and more into the ring, which finally became so large that the secret leaked. The oligarchic character of the Creek federal government as revealed by Stiggins and these Indian agents clashes rather oddly with what Adair says of its democratic character, but evidently the government of the confederacy was farther removed from the masses of the people than the government of the towns, and with the disappearance of war positions came to be held less on account of merit and more because of family connection and personal "pull." In the erection of a federal government over and above the former tribal governments the mass of the people had not succeeded in holding firmly to the reins of power; still such great abuses would probably not have arisen had it not been for the decline of the merit element in promotions and the cupidity excited by United States Government annuities.

The most complete account of the general council as it existed after the removal to Oklahoma was furnished Schoolcraft by Mr. D. W. Eakins, whom Schoolcraft describes as "for some time a resident of the Territory now occupied by them west of the State of Arkansas." These facts were "communicated in reply to printed inquiries issued in 1847, respecting the History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States."

The answers covering this subject may very well be run together.

"The general council of the Creek Indians consists of a representation from the whole tribe, as divided into towns. This council, composed of the chiefs, is vested with *plenary* power, to act for the whole tribe. Their *verbal summons* or decisions, have all the force of a written document; these decisions are announced in general council; and also recorded by the clerk. Their authority, (as among the principal chiefs,) is often assumed. Their authority is delegated to them, (in many cases,) by virtue of their standing and influence. They are at all times open to popular opinion, and are the mere

[77] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1846, pp. 514-517.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

146
622

exponents of it. The power of the chiefs in council is unlimited. Their decisions are absolute.

"The principal chiefs are chosen by the general council; and now, are not chosen so much for their renowned deeds, as their civil and popular qualifications. Their term of office continues during good behavior. The disapproval of the body of the people is an effective bar to the exercise of their powers and functions.

"The chiefs, in public council, speak the opinions and sentiments of the warriors. They consult the priests, old men, and young men composing the tribe, in local matters. Sometimes they are subject to be influenced by extraneous opinions. In many cases they pursue the interests of the people with shrewdness and intensity. In their councils, their decisions are generally determined by the opinions of the leading chiefs; their *dictum* generally influences the mass. The right to sit in council, is, nominally, equivalent to giving a *vote*. The *ayes* and *noes*, if counted, would be by the clerk. Casting the vote, however, has not been introduced among the Creeks. The opinions of the leading chiefs generally regulate the decisions of the council. Powers are sometimes exercised by the chiefs, in advance of public opinion; but anything gross or outrageous would be indignantly repelled.

"The public or general councils are opened with a good deal of ceremony. The principal chiefs first enter and take their seats. The next in order then enter, and addressing themselves to the whole body, ask: 'Are you all present, my friends?' They then take their seats. The principal chief, rising from his seat, presents to the second chief, his tobacco; and this interchange takes place throughout the whole assembly. These interchanges having been gone through with, they next speak about their domestic affairs. Then local matters; after which they proceed to business. Their business is conducted irregularly, daily, and generally, by the position of the sun. The principal chief adjourns the council to the appointed time next day. Before the close of their deliberations, the two bodies agree upon a day of adjournment. At the appointed time for adjournment, the two bodies come together. The second chiefs, rising first, address themselves to the first chiefs, telling them 'they are going to leave them.' They then seat themselves, the whole council following in regular order, according to their grade. The principal chiefs, then rising, say, 'We return home.' There is still some respect paid to ancient ceremonies. Regard is paid to the weather in their deliberations. They have two national clerks and one United States, and one national interpreter. All questions are considered with more or less deliberation. Decisions are sometimes made upon the principle of majorities, and sometimes forced by the opinions of the leading chiefs. There are no cases that require absolute unanimity. There may be cases in which the voice of a leading chief might be taken as the will of the tribe.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

646
•622

"Decisions made by the chiefs in council are carried into effect implicitly. In cases of capital punishment, the executioner is selected from a body of men called 'the Light Horse.' He uses neither tomahawk, club, nor arrow. The gun is generally selected as the instrument of execution. If the culprit has no choice of place for execution, the executioner may appoint the place, which is generally selected with reference to a convenience for burial. In case of the restoration of property, a messenger is sent to the parties. There is, however, no regularity on this subject.

"In case of a vacancy by death or otherwise, the office is filled by the selection of the General Council. Sometimes the vacancy is filled by the town to which the chief belonged, and then brought before the General Council for sanction. In case of a vacancy among the leading chiefs, the vacancy is filled by the General Council. The chiefs may be deposed from office for gross outrage." [73]

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Logan, the agent quoted above, furnishes the following additional information about the Creek government of his time:

"Each party [i. e., both the Upper and Lower Creeks] has its own head chief, etc. Roly McIntosh, the chief of the Lower Towns, is also vested with the dignity of head chief of the nation, and he presides as such in the general council of the nation, which generally convenes once a year, but at no particular period. Its deliberations are confined to subjects exclusively national, and which affect both parties in common. Those subjects having reference to their own party concerns meet the action of their own councils, which are held separate and distinct, and in which neither interferes with the other. They are conducted precisely similar, and are composed of the chiefs and law-makers of the different towns (or more properly clans) adhering to each party. These chiefs are generally selected from the older citizens. In point of intelligence, they cannot compare with private individuals, who generally do not desire such dignities. Generally speaking they are extremely ignorant, are noted for their superstitious bigotry, for their old customs and ceremonies, and most bitter prejudices against all measures calculated to reform the condition or enlighten the minds of their people. There are, however, a few honorable exceptions, but they are far in the minority, and their councils have but little weight. They are opposed to [the Christian] religion and education, more particularly the former, conceiving very justly that it has a tendency to lessen their authority, and to abolish their old rites and ceremonies, of which they are particularly tenacious. They have gone so far this year as to exact a fine of from two dollars to three and a half dollars a head upon all non-attendants at their 'busks,' green corn dances, etc., or who do not drink the physic, a most nauseous compound of poisonous weeds. Their authority is often exerted arbitrarily, and their laws are unjust and unnecessarily severe. It is a standing law of the nation, 'if any

[73] Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. 1, pp. 275-277.

l: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

person preach or hold religious meetings, whether white or red, he shall for the first offence receive fifty lashes on his bare back, and for the second offence one hundred lashes.' To maintain their authority, they support, out of the annuity, an immense number of subordinates, known as law-makers, light horse, etc. The people stand in much awe of them, and blindly pay them the obedience they exact; they have no voice in their appointment nor in their acts: when a vacancy occurs, the place is filled not by an election, but by the nomination made by some noted chief." [74]

Logan is decidedly too severe in his criticisms of the conservative party who were in the nature of things bound to be opposed to the spirit of innovation of which he was a part. While the nature and amount of the fines exacted from those who absented themselves from the busk were no doubt determined at the council of which he speaks, the principle was by no means new.

The practical effect of the Confederate government on the bulk of the people was probably about as indicated in the following lines intended to apply to southern confederacies generally:

"Every town is independent of another. Their own friendly compact continues the union. An obstinate war leader will sometimes commit acts of hostility, or make peace for his own town, contrary to the good liking of the rest of the nation. But a few individuals are very cautious of commencing war on small occasions, without the general consent of the head men: for should it prove unsuccessful, the greater part would be apt to punish them as enemies, because they abused their power, which they had only to do good to the society." [75]

Councils in which all of the towns, or as many of them as chose to do so, took part were certainly held at a period as early as an organization existed that could be called a Creek confederacy, but they seem to have been at irregular intervals and at no determined place. And as we have seen, the Lower Creeks and the Upper Creeks each had an independent council. It is likely that, if we could examine some of these old councils we should find a certain regular method of seating the different chiefs, and a certain procedure, but only the above scraps of information regarding them have come down to us. In Adair's time we learn that the French at Fort Toulouse in the forks of the Alabama River endeavored to foment civil war among the Muskogee especially through the hold they had on the small tribes other than Muskogee about their fort, but the Creek chiefs in council compelled them to desist.[76] In the Georgia colonial documents we read of a number of councils. One of these was represented by nine towns, of which two belonged to the Lower Creeks and seven to the Upper Creeks. Another was attended by 21 towns, of which 6 were Lower towns and the balance Upper. At a council of Lower

[74] James Logan in Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1845, pp. 515-516.
[75] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 426.
[76] Ibid., pp. 238-239.

J: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Creeks 4 towns were represented. A conference at Savannah was attended by 16 Upper Creek towns. At Oglethorpe's first council with the Creeks 9 Lower Creek towns were represented and no Upper Creek towns. Another council was attended by 12 Upper Creek towns, and still another by 8 from the same section. There are two other notices of meetings held by the Upper Creeks alone and one held by the Lower Creeks. This brings out clearly the separation existing between the Upper and the Lower Creeks. We also find a note to the effect that the towns of Coweta, Hitchiti, Osochi, "Nipky," Chiaha, Kasihta, and Tuskegee had declared Coweta miko their chief, a statement which certainly shows the primacy of Coweta among the Lower Creeks. The Tuskegee, or part of them, were probably with the Lower Creeks at that time.[77] Two of these councils of which we have a record were held in Tulsa, one in Okchai, one in Apalachicola, and one in Chiaha. Whether accidentally or otherwise it thus happens that all but the last were in White towns.

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A Spanish document dating from 1793 or 1794 contains a list of chiefs, with the town to which each belonged, whom it was thought advisable to invite to a general conference at Pensacola. This list, which is as follows, gives an idea of the towns thought worthy of representation on such an occasion and in some degree the relative importance in which those invited were held:

Kellessechuppo, or Beard	of the Broken Arrow.
Cowabbe, or Little Prince	
Hycat, or Cussitaw King	of the Cussitaws.
Bird Tail King	
Hollowing King	of the Cowitaws.
Young Lieutenant	
Philatouchy	of the point [i. e., Chiaha, Osochi, and Okmulgee].
Cochmans Brother	
George Cousins	of the Eauphallies.
John Kennard and his Uncle	of the Hitchetes.
Mad Dog	of the Tuckabatches.
Beaux Banter	
Half Breed	of the Ockfuskies.
McKay's Friend	of the Abacouchies.
Tallessey King	[of Tulsa?]
White King	of the Hicklawallies [Holiwahali].
Dog Warrior	of the Upper Towns.
Wockucoy King	[of Wakokai?].
Wiokee King	[of Wiwohka?].
Mawmouth	of the Keyalegies.
One head man	from James Leslie's Town [Natchez?].
Bryen Molton or One head man	from the Tuskeegy.
McPherson	Little Tallesseys.
Upoimico	
Red Shoes	[of the Alabama and Koasati?].
One head man	from the Fussachees.
One ditto	from the Coolamy.
One ditto	from the White Ground.
One ditto	from the Ottosay.[78]

[77] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 210-211.

[78] Copy of Ms. in the Ayer Library, Newberry Library, Chicago.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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Writing in 1791, Swan says:

"The most influential chiefs of the country, either in peace or war, are the Hollowing King, of the Cowetas; the White Lieutenant, of the Oakfuskies; the Mad Dog King, of the Tuckabatchees; the old Tallassie King Opilth-Mico, of the Half-way House at Big Tallassie; the Dog Warrior, of the Natchez; and Old Red-shoe, King of the Alabamas and Coosades. A treaty made with the before-named chiefs would, probably, be communicated to all the people of the country, and be believed and relied upon." [3]

It is worthy of note that the Coweta chief is the only Lower Creek chief mentioned, the inference being that through the personal force of this man or the preponderating influence of his town all of the other Lower Creek towns could be controlled. Of the five Upper Creek chiefs only one, the chief of Tukabahchee, represents a Red town, or a town that belonged to the Red side at that time; two, the Okfuskee and Big Tulsa chiefs, represent the old Coosa element, and two, the Natchez and Alabama chiefs, the non-Muskogee element. It is probable, however, that the Dog Warrior of the Natchez represented equally his own people and the Abihka. All the Upper Creek towns having any pretensions to leadership are thus represented except Otciapofa and the omission of this is at once explained when we remember that it was the town of Alexander McGillivray, at that time unofficial dictator of the entire nation. Swan assumes his cooperation without specific mention.

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The Creek organization in the eighteenth century would appear from this information to have been about in the same condition as it was in the early part of the nineteenth—a loose confederation led by from two to four towns and holding irregular councils, the different sections of the nation often counselling apart, comparative absence of internal warfare and continuous but rarely unified warfare against neighbors. Regarding the latter point it is interesting to note that in the Creek-American war of 1813 not only did the Lower Creeks actively assist the whites, but a large number of Upper Creek towns refused to have anything to do with the hostiles. Among these were Abihka, Natchez, Tukabahchee and some of her allies, Kealedji, and, in the beginning at least, Łálogálga and Upper Eufaula. Hilibi remained neutral as well but was attacked without warrant by an army of whites and severely handled.

It is to be observed, however, that a considerable change took place both internally and externally after white contact tending to increase the power and importance of the confederacy much beyond its primitive condition. Thus, in De Soto's time the Kasihta and Coosa, the representatives of the Lower and Upper Creeks, were noteworthy and powerful tribes but only to a certain extent superior to many

[3] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 262.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

861 The usual indulgence of Indian parents, especially toward their male offspring, was thus tempered by the intrusion of this custom of scratching, which is a characteristic feature of the southeastern area. As stated by Swan, scratching had two aspects. It was [751] inflicted as a punishment, and it was administered as contributory to the health. Perhaps the idea in punishing by scratching was as much to let the evil which had caused the dereliction out as to deter the culprit by an actual infliction of pain. Nevertheless, the latter motive was also present. One of my Alabama informants remembers being scratched as a boy if he had done anything wrong. His mother also scratched his thighs and calves so that he could run long distances without becoming tired. Scratching as a punishment was, however, usually dry; that for discipline or health alleviated by applying water in advance.

861 Whipping has already been mentioned. References to the whipping of children are rare, but the following from Adair may be inserted:

●622 "It ought to be remarked, that they are careful of their youth, and fail not to punish them when they transgress. Anno 1766, I saw an old head man, called the *Dog-King* (from the nature of his office) correct several young persons—some for supposed faults, and others by way of prevention. He began with a lusty young fellow, who was charged with being more effeminate than became a warrior; and with acting contrary to their old religious rites and customs, particularly, because he lived nearer than any of the rest to an [838] opulent and helpless German, by whom they supposed he might have been corrupted. He bastinadoed the young sinner severely, with a thick whip, about a foot and a half long, composed of plaited silk grass, and the fibres of the button snake-root stalks, tapering to the point, which was secured with a knot. He reasoned with him, as he corrected him: he told him that he was *Chehakse Kanèha-He* [tcihaksi kania he], literally, 'you are as one who is wicked, and almost lost.' . . . The grey-hair'd corrector said, he entreated him in that manner according to ancient custom, through an effect of love, to induce him to shun vice, and to imitate the virtues of his illustrious fore-fathers, which he endeavoured to enumerate largely: when the young sinner had received his supposed due, he went off seemingly well pleased.

"This Indian correction lessens gradually in its severity, according to the age of the pupils. While the *Dog-King* was catechising the little ones, he said *Che Haksinna* [tcihaksina], 'do not become vicious.' And when they wept, he said *Che-Abela Awa* [tciabila awa], 'I shall not kill you.'"[a]

861 In another place the same writer remarks that in his time chil-
609 dren who killed the pigs and poultry of the traders were merely

[a] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., pp. 156–157.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NNU Creek NNU

given "ill names" by their parents, whereas "the mischievous and thievish were formerly sure to be dry-scratched." [89]

The lack of concern of a father regarding the bringing up of his offspring was due, not, as Swan seems to suppose, to unnatural indifference but to the fact that he was of a distinct clan and the bringing up fell first to the mother and then to the other adults of the clan to which she and her children belonged. In every clan [89a] in each town there was one man (a pawa, "maternal uncle") looked to to keep his eye on the young people in his clan, lecture them at the annual busk and at other times, and if necessary chastise them. This man would theoretically be the oldest male clansman, but in fact was probably the oldest influential member. Perhaps the Dog-King, mentioned above, was the maternal uncle of those children and young people whom Adair saw him correcting, though the reference to his title indicates the possibility that he had some more general function in the Chickasaw community.

Stress should be laid on Swan's statement that scratching was a part of the hardening process intended for the development of capable warriors.

A regulation strictly observed in early times was a daily bath in the nearest body of water. The Texas Alabama state that all of the able-bodied people—men, women, and children—as soon as they got up in the morning and before they went to the fire used to repair to the nearest creek and plunge under water four times. This act was supposed to make them live long, and parents forced their children to bathe thus even if they had to whip them. If snow were on the ground a person was allowed to roll in it four times instead.

The antiquity of this custom is indicated by its appearance in one of the older Alabama stories in which a bird called tciktcikáno' plunges under water four times in the prescribed manner. Bossu, who knew these Indians in the middle of the eighteenth century, also lays stress upon it. He says that "the children at the breast are bathed in winter in cold water," and when they were older they went, after the bath, "to present themselves before the war chief who makes them a speech, telling them that they ought never to be afraid of the water, that they may be pursued by their enemies, that if they are taken they are placed in the frame (cadre) and burned alive, that it is then that they must prove by refraining from weeping that they are true men.

"The speech finished, the chief scarifies their thighs, breast, back, in order to harden them against discomfort, and afterward he gives them heavy blows with a neck band (a carrying strap)." [90]

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[89] Adair, Hist. Am. Inds., p. 413.

[89a] Or clan group; see pp. 122-123.

[90] Bossu, Nouv. Voy., vol. II, pp. 34-35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

726 final conclusion of the chiefs is announced to the assembled body of the chiefs and warriors by the orator explaining to them and the assembly the reasons why they are justified in a declaration of war, before they make a descent on their enemy. On a day appointed they assemble at their town house square in complete armour all stript and painted red, black, and white as they go into action with their guns on their shoulders, their knife and tomahawk hanging to their side and war club stuck in their belt. . . . They all take their seats as they come. When assembled the man who is honored to be the town leader rises and takes his stand in the square where he raises the sacred war whoop and begins to sing and dance in the circle and as the rest rise they raise the same whoop and drop in behind the other; in a very little time their singing and dancing, is drowned by one eternal whooping and firing of guns. When they are assembled on their way to their enemy at the appointed rendezvous they hold a general war dance in the same way as described above.

"I will try to return to the former subject. After a declaration of war and before they commence hostilities they proceed to gathering every man, woman, and child belonging to the nation to their respective town and relations, let them be far or near. After they have collected all their kindred, they are ready to commence hositlities on the enemy. Then if one of the other nation is seen by them he is certainly destroyed; their petty wars are wars of extermination. They commence by small parties on venture, not man against man but tribe against tribe. It is a praiseworthy action for a man or a party of men to kill the women and children of their enemy, more so than to kill a man, who is frequently in the forest, whereas to kill a woman shews evidently that he [the slayer] was not afraid to go into his enemy's country but achieved the manly deed in their very house door and escaped." [2]

726 622 701 The following statement from Hawkins gives an excellent idea of the voluntary character of war parties, and the relation of the war to the civil chiefs. War "is always determined on by the Great Warrior [i. e. the Tástánagi láko]. When the Micco and counsellors are of opinion that the town has been injured, he lifts the war hatchet against the nation which has injured them. But as soon as it is taken up, the Micco and counsellors may interpose, and by their prudent councils, stop it, and proceed to adjust the misunderstanding by negotiation. If the Great Warrior persists and goes out, he is followed by all who are for war. It is seldom a town is unanimous, the nation never is; and within the memory of the oldest man among them, it is not recollected, that more than one half the nation have

[2] Stiggins, Ms. Hist. Narr., pp. 34-35.

1: Swanton E-5 (1911-12)1928 NN11 Creek NN11

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been for war at the same time; or taken, as they express it, the war talk.

"The Great Warrior, when he marches, gives notice where he shall encamp, and sets out sometimes with one or two only. He fires off his gun and sets up the war whoop. This is repeated by all who follow him, and they are sometimes for one or two nights marching off." [33]

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Regarding the fasts which preceded such expeditions the same writer says:

"When young men are going to war, they go into a hothouse of the town made for the purpose, and remain there for four days. They drink the Mic-co-ho-yon-e-jau [miko hoyanĭdja] and the pos-sau [pasa], and they eat the Sou-watch-cau [sawatcka].[34] The fourth day, they come out, have their bundle ready, and march. This bundle or knapsack, is an old blanket, some parched corn flour, and leather to patch their moccasins. They have in their shot bags, a charm, a protection against all ills, called the war physic, composed of chit-to gab-by [35] and Is-te-pau-pau,[36] the bones of the snake and lion.

"The tradition of this physic is, that in old times, the lion, (Is-te-pau-pau,) devoured their people. They dug a pit and caught him in it, just after he had killed one of their people. They covered him with lightwood knots, burnt him, and reserved his bones.

"The snake was in the water, the old people sung and he showed himself. They sung again, and he showed himself a little out of the water. The third time he showed his horns, and they cut one; again he showed himself a fourth time, and they cut off the other horn. A piece of these horns and of the bones of the lion, is the great way physic." [37]

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Considerable discredit has been cast upon Milfort by his pronounced egotism and the evident exaggerations introduced into his version of the migration legend of the Creeks, also by the picture of unity in the Creek confederacy which he presents. There are internal evidences of reliability about much of his information, however, and it must be remembered that his acquaintance with the confederacy was during the period of McGillivray's dictatorship when centralization of authority was at its height. I therefore believe that considerable value attaches to the following information; at least it gives us nearly all we know about the conduct of military operations in which

[33] Hawkins, Ga. Hist. Soc. Colls., vol. III, p. 72.
[34] Cf. Speck in Mem. Am. Anth. Ass'n., vol. II, p. 118.
[35] This is intended for tcito yabi, "horned snake." The Creek chief Chicota told Doctor Gatschet that this medicine was used in hunting, not in war, but such customs change from decade to decade.
[36] Istĭ papa, "person eater."
[37] Hawkins, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

determined by the individual ability—usually military—of those who belonged to them. Thus a man might start his public career as a common warrior or tàsikaia, a word now often translated "citizen," be promoted to the position of an imała làbotski, or "Little Imała," then to that of an imała łàko, or "Big Imała," and finally become a tàstanàgi, or "war leader." If sufficiently prominent he might be made a tàstànàgi łàko or holibonaia, "war speaker," though of these there was never more than one in a town at any one time. There were "beds" or seats in the square grounds for each of these classes, but not all were promoted into them. Men who belonged to the clan of the chief (miko) would be given seats in his section and form the mikàlgi, "chiefs," who acted as a kind of special executive council. If they belonged to a certain clan known as henīhàlgi, they would be given seats in another place. The functions of the henīhàlgi are somewhat uncertain but they were concerned largely with the maintenance of peace and charged themselves with the internal prosperity of the tribe. The henīhàlgi were almost always formed of the Wind clan, and if, for any reason, the Wind clan could not be used, the Bird or Beaver, or at least some clan considered White, would take their place. There was also a class of men called ist-atcagagi, the old, experienced men from all tribes, retired from active service but keepers of the tribal lore. It seems fairly evident that a correlation existed anciently between White towns, White clans, and the henīhàlgi, and that the miko of a White town was generally chosen from a White clan. It is even possible that the miko of a Red town was formerly chosen from a White clan. Certainly there is a marked tendency to choose chiefs from the Bear clan, even in Red towns, though many of them are also from the Raccoon and the Aktayatci.

A word must now be said regarding the ceremonial grounds. Originally every Creek town had such a ground which at a still earlier period was probably the ceremonial ground of a small tribe. As a tribe increased in numbers, however, the ground often became too small to accommodate all of its members comfortably and so it split into two or more. Undoubtedly, before the organization of the Creek Confederation, there was great diversity among these grounds and a certain element of diversity has persisted until the present day, but on the other hand considerable standardization has undoubtedly taken place. Creek legend asserts that the first ceremonial ground was given to the Coweta, the Kasihta, or the Tukabahchee by the Breath Controller or by other supernatural beings, and copied by the remaining towns from them. While this represents a modern

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NNIl Creek NNIl

posts are used for the seating of as many clans, groups of clans or related officials. 344

Considerable variation in the ancient and intended plan has been brought about by the attrition which the tribe and its several divisions have undergone, loss of the keepers of the sacred lore, and other factors, but it is plain that normally one of the four cabins was mainly devoted to the miko and his clan. Hence it was called mikâlgi (or mikâgi) intupa, the "Chiefs' bed." Another was devoted mainly to the henīhâlgi and was named from them, another to the higher class of warriors, the tàstânâgâlgi, and so received their name, and still another to the novitiate warriors or youths from whom it was called tàsikaiâlgi intupa or tcibânâgâlgi intupa. The positions of these in the square ground varies considerably. It should be stated in the first place that the cabins are placed normally toward the four points of the compass, but that for some unexplained reason in the square of Tukabahchee the entrances are toward the cardinal points. In the old Kasihta square, which seems to have set the fashion for many other towns, the mikos' cabin lay west, the henihas' south, the tàstânâgis' north, and the tàsikaias' east. In the Okfuskee towns, of which Nuyaka is an example, the mikos' cabin lay north, the henihas' east, the tàstânâgis' west, and the tàsikaias' south. In Pakan Tallahassee the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' south, the tàstânâgis' west, and there is no east cabin. In Eufaula the mikos' cabin is north, the henihas' east and the tàstânâgis' south, the west cabin being missing. In Alabama, where there are but two cabins, the mikos' cabin is east.

The other variations in the arrangement of the squares will come out in the subjoined material, but before presenting it something must be said regarding town officials.

The miko, as already stated, was chief of the town, its head presiding officer and responsible executive. Like many of the other officers he had a special companion or henīha taken from the Wind clan or whatever clan occupied the position of henīhâlgi. This henīha is sometimes called miko apokta, "second chief," but the latter name is also given to still another functionary who shares the burdens of state with his superior. The chief had one or more yatikas or interpreters who also bore the name asimbonaia, "speakers." Unless wanted to make an announcement or to send upon an errand, they sat with their clan or other group to which they normally belonged. The tàstânâgi lâko and holibonaia have been mentioned. The position of holibonaia, "war speaker" was the most exalted military position, and it is possible that there was only one such official at a time in [622] 624